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Two Types of Ancestors
A Note on *Xiào* 孝 in Eastern Zhōu Times

Robert H. Gassmann

Introductory Remarks

With a few exceptions (e.g. Hán Fēi), early Chinese thinkers are nearly unanimous in their perception of the importance of *xiào* 孝. Texts from the Golden Age, i.e. the Chūnqiū and Zhànguó periods, confirm that this concept belongs to the warp of Chinese society, possibly even since prehistoric times. During the last decade a number of publications dealing with the concept and the meaning of the word *xiào* during the pre-Hàn period have contributed to a deeper understanding.[1]

Commonly *xiào* is rendered as "filial piety" or "filiality," thus showing preference for an understanding of *xiào* as a concept defining the relationship between, in most cases, living parent(s) and a child. Donald Holzmann, however, notes that "Arthur Waley thought that *xiào* 'seems originally to have meant piety towards the spirits of ancestors or dead parents,' citing as proof the fact that the references in the *Shī Jīng* are 'almost exclusively to piety towards the dead.'"[2] For Eastern Zhōu times we thus can presumably observe several objects of *xiào*. In a first articulation, we find "common" *filial* piety towards a living parent or living parents, in a second one, filial piety towards a dead parent or dead parents. In these two senses, the translations "filial" or "filiality" would represent the full sense of the word. The third articulation, however, seems to differ and should possibly be termed *ancestral* piety. By overlap, the addressees of the third form of conduct could, of course, be parental ancestors (articulation two), but was it always or necessarily so? Apart from parents and the direct ancestors of one's parents, who else could qualify as "ancestor"? And if there were others, what evidence do we have? And, finally, can we decide whether there was a development in the meaning of the concept in Early China and in which steps this development took place?

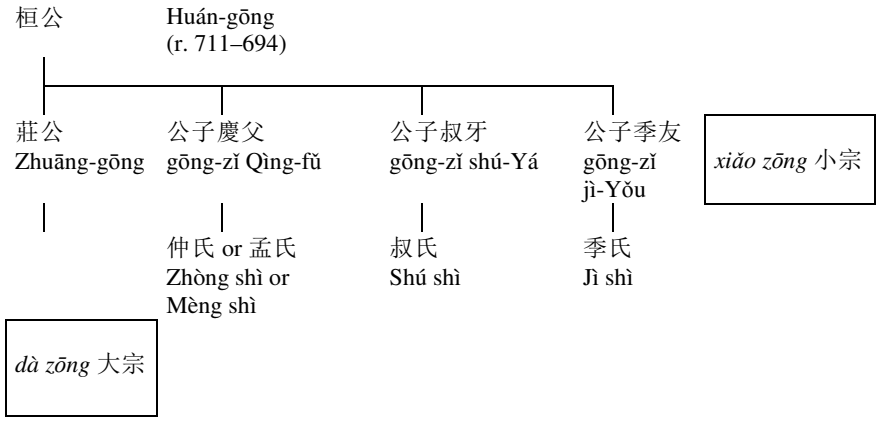
1 To mention just a few of the more influential ones: Knapp 1995; Holzman 1998 and several articles in Chan & Tan 2004.

2 Holzmann 1998: 186. The quote is from *Analects of Confucius* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1949), p.38.

Two Types of Lineages

In the course of an extensive study of kinship and society in Eastern Zhōu times[3] I had to deal with the terms *dà zōng* 大宗 'major lineage' and *xiǎo zōng* 小宗 'minor lineage'. The following tree-diagram of the well-known lineages of Lǔ 魯, the so-called *sān Huán* 三桓, i.e. the three lineages descending from the Huán-Patriarch of Lǔ, may serve to illustrate these two kinship structures:

Illustration 1: Descendants of the Huán-Patriarch of Lǔ



Minor lineages are right-branching structures which issue from a male person in the leftmost column or stem and comprise all his immediate descendants, i.e. the descendants of a *father*. Such structures are biologically defined, patrilineal units, i.e. they are constituted in a strictly *genealogical* way. The ancestral male is worshipped in a building called 'shrine of the father' (*nǐ miào* 禰廟).[4]

Major lineages have only one single stem, and this line of succession is limited to the group of male persons within a lineage who have been in the position of the head of a lineage (i.e. either as king, as feudal lord, or as head of a Dàifū lineage). This type of lineage consists of related persons (same lineage), but the main organizing principle is not genealogical, but the position in a distinctive ancestral pattern, i.e. the so-called *zhāo-mù* system (昭穆).[5] This unique distributional pattern of ancestors has the usually disregarded consequence that the immediately preceding ancestor of a deceased or living head of a lineage was not necessarily the biological or genealogical ancestor. This pattern of "ancestral descent" I have termed

3 Gassmann 2006.

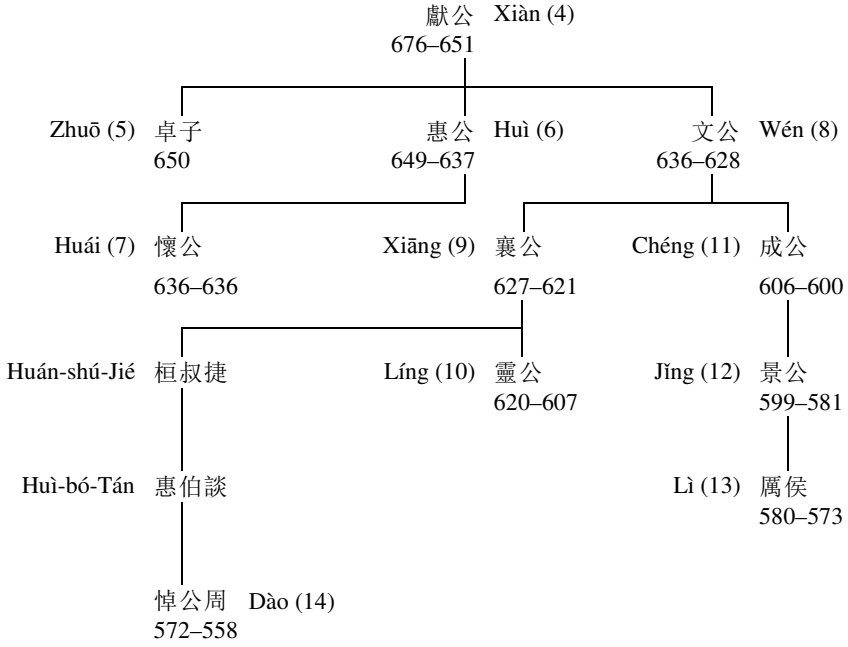
4 Cf. the important passage in *Zuǒ Zhuàn* 左傳, Xiāng 12.4 (cf. Legge [2]1960: 455a–b). The meaning of this passage and the implications of the terms contained in it are extensively discussed in Gassmann 2006, cf. p. 36, 59, 63, 161, 173*, 194*. The references marked with asterisks deal with the expression *nǐ miào*.

5 For a detailed discussion of this system, cf. Gassmann 2006: 70–82.

"geneatactical[6]". The ancestral male of a major lineage is worshipped in a building called 'shrine of the ancestor' (*zǔ miào* 祖廟).

Let me present a striking excerpt from the filiation of the ruling house of Jìn 晉 (the bracketed numbers show the sequence in the line of succession):

Illustration 2: The ruling house of Jìn II[7] (genealogical representation)



Note the following configurations: The ancestor-in-line of the ruler Chéng (N° 11), himself a son of the famous hegemon Wén (N° 8), was a *nephew* named Líng (N° 10), who was a grandson of Wén (N° 8) and a son of the brother of Chéng named Xiāng (N° 9). Even more "eccentric"—and no longer specifiable with common genealogical labels—was the succession between N° 13 and N° 14. As has just been demonstrated, it could happen that in terms of succession a nephew was the predecessor of his uncle, i.e. that even the generational order could be disrupted in a way that a member of a *later* generation became the due *ancestor* of a member of an

6 This neologism is an amalgam of '*genea*(logical)' and '*taxis*' (i.e. classification) and refers to the fact that units of this type are based on kinship relationships (i.e. genealogically based), but that the order of succession (i.e. the taxis) is dependent on the condition that the person, for a defined period, is/was the head of a lineage (*dà zōng*). Cf. Gassmann 2006: 65.

7 The lines of succession in Jìn are divided into a line I prior to the secession, and a line II after the secession of the Huán-minor 桓叔 (cf. below 3.3, Illustration 6).

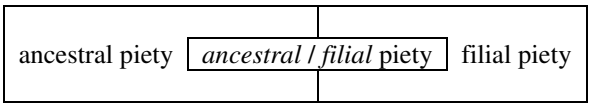
earlier generation. That in such cases it becomes impossible to translate *xiào* by either "filial piety" or "filiality" is certainly obvious.

The complicated genealogical tree just commented on with its many branches translates into the following, simple geneatactical representation:

Illustration 3: Geneatactical order of succession in Jìn II (zhāo-mù-sequence)

Huán-shú Chéng-shī	桓叔成師 (1)				
	穆			昭	
Wǔ	武公	(3)	(2)	莊伯	Zhuāng
Zhuō[8]	卓子	(5)	(4)	獻公	Xiàn
Huái	懷公	(7)	(6)	惠公	Huì
Xiāng	襄公	(9)	(8)	文公	Wén
Chéng	成公	(11)	(10)	靈公	Líng
Lì	厲候	(13)	(12)	景公	Jǐng
Píng	平公	(15)	(14)	悼公	Dào
			(16)	昭公	Zhāo

The point of intersection between major and minor lineages is responsible for a highly interesting coincidence: one and the same male is, on the one hand, geneatactically (i.e. not necessarily as a parent) a member of a major lineage and receives, as an expression of *ancestral* piety, offerings within the corresponding ritual calendar (i.e. in the 'shrine of the ancestor,' *zǔ miào*, and according to the *zhāo-mù*-system), and on the other hand he can, if he has sons, be genealogically the founder of a minor lineage and receiver of offerings in the 'shrine of the father' (*nǐ miào*), offerings to be regarded as expression of *filial* piety. This adds up to two types of ancestors, and the two forms of piety can be represented in the form of a Venn diagram with the overlap just mentioned:



8 In the *Shì Běn* 世本 (*Shì Běn Bā Zhǒng* 世本八種; reconstruction by Qin Jiamo 秦嘉謨輯補本. Shanghai 上海: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館, 1957, p. 43; herafter abbreviated as SB,) the name is rendered *Dào-zǐ* 悼子. The person referred to must be *Zhuō-zǐ* 卓子, the son of the later main spouse of the Xiàn-Patriarch. Cf. *Chūn Qiū* 春秋, Xī 10.3: 晉里克殺其君卓及其大夫荀息. That this son was a successor in his own right is based not only on this entry, but also on the fact that—if left out—the *zhāo-mù*-sequence would become disrupted (cf. the regularizing position N° 16 with a ruler bearing the revealing name Zhāo 昭, who definitely must be in the *zhāo* row). Nevertheless, it is conceivable that the son Zhuō-zǐ was attributed the canonical epithet *dào* 悼.

There could be quite interesting configurations which might shatter commonly held views about the purely filiality-based concept of *xiào*. Besides the above-mentioned disruption of the generational sequence (nephew preceding uncle), there are, for example, many cases of *exiled* rulers who came back to power after an interregnum of several years. Geneatactically, the ruler of the interregnum thus both follows and precedes the exiled person. Should he already have been obliged to sacrifice to his still living, but exiled predecessor, i.e. to be *xiào* towards him? And should his exiled predecessor and returned successor be obliged to sacrifice to him, or is the exiled person "for ever and ever" only predecessor? No doubt very interesting questions for ritual specialists![9]

It is nevertheless clear that *xiào* must have been a category within both systems, i.e. towards both types of ancestors. This can be clearly inferred from the fact that some rulers have as canonical epithet or designation (*shì* 諡)[10] the name-element *xiào* (e.g. the Xiào-Patriarch of Lǔ, Lǔ Xiào gōng 魯孝公, r. 795–768, or the Xiào-Patriarch of Qí, Qí Xiào gōng 齊孝公, r. 641–632). It is, however, worth noting that up to the middle Zhànguó period this epithet was not very frequently attributed to heads of lineages (the *Shì Běn* lists—though incompletely—about a dozen instances[11]). This, in my opinion, allows for the following explanation: under normal circumstances a successor was "naturally" pious in his conduct of offerings and sacrifices for his predecessor. This was normally not worth mentioning and would thus, *e silentio*, be fair proof that *xiào* also had the meaning "ancestral piety" (cf. also the bi-syllabic canonical names in the later Zhànguó period and then in the Hàn dynasty comprising this epithet, e.g. xiào Wén 孝文).

If, however, under special or perhaps extremely unusual circumstances a person showed himself capable of observing the appropriate rules of conduct, then he would possibly be explicitly referred to as *xiào* and attributed the corresponding epithet. This assumption opens up the following line of investigation into the semantics of *xiào*: are there clear patterns in the biographies of rulers with this name that explain or warrant the attribution of the epithet Xiào?

In the following I shall therefore present a few cases with sufficient background and biographical information to assess the conditions in which the rulers concerned were in fact named Xiào.

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9 Questions of this type are probably also crucial for the reconstruction of lineages and especially the Western Zhōu chronology (cf. note 23).

10 This name-element is often termed 'posthumous,' which for the pre-Hàn period, in my opinion, is—probably in most cases—inaccurate. There are demonstrably many cases, in which this epithet must have been adopted or attributed during a person's life-time. In certain cases, the character of the name must have been *programmatic* in nature (viz. the names Zhāo 昭 and Mù 穆 according to the position such rulers *already* had in the *zhāo-mù* sequence), and less of a descriptive epithet for the deeds and the way of governing of a ruler. Cf. Gassmann 2006: 70–82, and remarks in Conclusion (a) below.

11 SB: 381.

Some Case Studies

The Xiào-Patriarch of Qí 齊孝公 (r. 642–633 B.C.)

The first hegemon, the Huán-Patriarch 桓公 of Qí (r. 685–643 B.C.), had more than ten sons who were eligible as successors (five of whom eventually succeeded to the throne).[12] At first, he decided on a younger son named Zhāo 昭 to be his successor, and entrusted him to the lord of Sòng. Due to an intrigue, he later agreed to let an elder son, i.e. the Wǔ-major 武孟, be installed.[13] Upon the Huán-Patriarch's death, this son was in fact installed, but three months later he was assassinated, and the originally designated successor, with the help of the lord of Sòng and important kinsmen in Qí (齊人), prevailed over his other brothers and finally ruled as the Xiào-Patriarch. The order of succession in the major lineage was therefore as follows:

Illustration 4: Geneatactical order of succession in Qí (zhāo-mù-sequence)

Tài	太公				(1)
	穆			昭	
Yǐ	乙公	(3)	(2)	丁公	Dīng
…					…
Huán	桓公	(15)	(14)	襄公	Xiāng
Xiào; s/15	孝公	(17)	(16)	武孟	Wǔ-major (= Wú-guǐ 無詭); s/15
			(18)	昭公	Zhāo; s/15

Abbreviations: s: son; /: of … (e.g. s/15 = son of 15)

Two plausible explanations for assuming—or receiving—the epithet *xiào* are construable: (a) Even though ruler N° 17 was originally the designated successor, he accepted the change of mind of his father and did not oppose his elder brother, the Wǔ-major. He thus probably followed a maxim mentioned in the *Zuǒ Zhuàn*: 稟命則不威，專命則不孝 'If [a designated successor of a ruler] receives commands,

12 Background information on the events referred to here are to be found in chapter 32 of the *Shǐ Jì* 史記 (cf. Nienhauser et al 2006: 79–81) and in Xī 17.5 to 18.5 in the *Zuǒ Zhuàn* (cf. Legge 1960: 173–174).

13 According to *Shǐ Jì* 32 (cf. Nienhauser et al 2006, V.1: 81), this son with the personal name Wú-guǐ 無虧 had no canonical epithet. A passage in the *Zuǒ Zhuàn*, (Xi 17.5; cf. Legge 173a–b) interestingly enumerates *all* the sons of the Huán-Patriarch who succeeded him and identifies their mothers. Wú-guǐ is amongst them, and here also differs as to the name-form used. Several facts show that he not only did have a canonical epithet, but that he also had a right to have one: (a) The canonical epithet Wǔ 武 is already part of the name-form Wǔ-major 武孟. (b) He was the son of the elder lady of the Jī-Clan of Wèi (長衛姬生武孟), who was party to the intrigue—and this elder lady and mother also had a canonical epithet (Gōng 共), which was a privilege apparently only granted to wives of a ruler who were the mothers of installed successors (cf. Gassmann 2006: 446–457). For the treatment of names in translation, cf. idem: 487–533.

he has no power; if he concentrates commands on himself, then he is not *xiào*'.[14] Only after his brother had been assassinated by kinsmen and the lord of Sòng and other feudal lords had intervened on his behalf, did he, as second-placed successor, renew his legitimate claim to the throne, thus in effect fulfilling the will of his father.[15] (b) Even though his elder brother was ruler only for three months, he must have been fully recognized, because he already had his own reign year (the one following the year of death of his father). His successor, the Xiào-Patriarch, clearly accepted this fact. This is confirmed by the canonical epithet of the succeeding brother, Zhāo (N° 18), manifestly showing that ruler N° 16 was a full-fledged member of the geneatactical order of succession in the major lineage. The Xiào-Patriarch of Qí thus reveals himself as *xiào* in *two respects*: on the one hand, he demonstrates *filial* piety towards his father, on the other hand, he shows due respect for, and *ancestral* piety towards, his elder brother.

The Xiào-Patriarch of Lǔ 魯孝公 (r. 796–769 B.C.)

Sīmǎ Qiān 司馬遷, the author of the *Records of the Historian* (*Shǐ Jì*) gives us the following account:

> 懿公九年: 懿公兄括之子, 伯御, 與魯人攻弒懿公, 而立伯御為君. 伯御即位十一年, 周宣王伐魯, 殺其君伯御 […]. 乃立稱於夷宮. 是為孝公.
> 9th year of the Yì-Patriarch (r. 815–807 B.C.): senior-Yù, the son of Kuò, the elder brother of the Yì-Patriarch, and leading kinsmen of [the house of] Lǔ attacked and assassinated the Yì-Patriarch, but [instead of Kuò they] installed senior-Yù as ruler. Eleven years after senior-Yù had come to the throne, the Xuān-King of Zhōu invaded Lǔ and killed[16] its ruler, senior-Yù […]. He then installed Chēng, [the younger brother of the Yì-Patriarch as successor] in the palace of the Yí-Patriarch. This was the Xiào-Patriarch (r. 796–769 B.C.).[17]

The order of succession in the major lineage was therefore as follows:

14 *Zuǒ Zhuàn*, Mǐn 8 fu 2 (cf. Legge 1960: 130).

15 *Shǐ Jì* 33 (cf. Nienhauser et al 2006, V.1: 142).

16 Note that Sīmǎ Qiān, in the vein of earlier sources, uses two different verbs (*shì* 弒 'assassinate' and *shā* 殺 'kill') for the acts of murder: (a) In the case of the Yì-Patriarch he uses the wording 弒懿公, thus signalling that the act was illegal. (b) In the case of senior-Yù he uses the wording 殺其君伯御, thus characterizing the act as legitimate.

17 Background information on the events referred to here are to be found in chapter 33 of the *Shǐ Jì* (cf. Nienhauser et al 2006, vol. V.1: 142–143).

Illustration 5: Geneatactical order of succession in Lǔ (zhāo-mù-sequence)

Zhōu gōng Dàn	周公旦				(1)
	穆			昭	
Kǎo	考公	(3)	(2)	伯禽	bó-Qín
Yōu	幽公	(5)	(4)	煬公	Yáng
Lì	厲公	(7)	(6)	魏公	Wèi
Zhēn	真公	(9)	(8)	獻公	Xiàn
Yì; s/10	懿公	(11)	(10)	武公	Wǔ
Xiào; s/10	孝公	(13)	(12)	伯御	bó-Yù; gs/10
Yǐn	隱公	(15)	(14)	惠公	Huì; s/13
…	…	…	…	…	…
			(24)	昭公	Zhāo

Abbreviations: s: son; gs: grandson; /: of … (e.g. gs/10 = grandson of 10)

On the occasion of a court visit to the Xuān-King of Zhōu, the Wǔ-Patriarch of Lǔ, i.e. the father of Kuò, the Yì-Patriarch as well as the later Xiào-Patriarch, and the grandfather of senior-Yù, accepted that the king installed a younger son (i.e. the Yì-Patriarch) instead of the elder son (Kuò). The usurpation by senior-Yù, obviously meant as revenge for the unfair treatment of his father, did not, however, lead to Kuò's enthronement. The kinsmen of Lǔ apparently decided to have senior-Yù as ruler. This, again, went against the will of the Xuān-King, who obviously wanted neither the father (Kuò) nor his son (senior-Yù) on the throne. He therefore attacked Lǔ and installed a further younger brother of Kuò and son of the Wǔ-Patriarch of Lǔ, i.e. the Xiào-Patriarch.

Why should this last ruler now assume—or receive—the epithet *xiào*? The following explanations are construable: (a) Kuò, the elder son of the Wǔ-Patriarch of Lǔ, had been definitely excluded from the succession. This exclusion had been sanctioned by two senior agents: by the Xuān-King (as grantor of the mandate of the principality of Lǔ) and by the father. This exclusion obviously extended also to his heirs, i.e. to senior-Yù. Installing a further younger brother, i.e. the Xiào-Patriarch, was therefore fully compatible with this original decision. Accepting this decision, even if against the will of leading kinsmen, was therefore an act of filial piety. (b) The senior-Yù had been ruler for a considerable time and was—without doubt and despite the fact that he had usurped the throne—a full-fledged member of the geneatactical order of succession. This is confirmed by the canonical epithet of a later ruler named Zhāo (N° 24): if the senior-Yù were not inserted in the *zhāo-mù* sequence, the later ruler, contrary to his epithet, would be positioned in the *mù* row. The Xiào-Patriarch of Lǔ thus also reveals himself as *xiào* in *two respects*, namely as demonstrating filial piety towards his father and ancestral piety towards his predecessor, who was his nephew.

The interim results of the two cases hitherto dealt with can now be taken as the basis for the following hypothesis: If a ruler reveals himself as *xiào* in two respects, i.e. if he abides in a *filial* way by the commands or succession arrangements of his father (who is his pre-predecessor), and if he shows *ancestral* piety towards his geneatactical predecessor[18] (despite the fact that he came to the throne in a basically irregular way), he may indeed adopt, or be accorded, the epithet *xiào*.

Let us now turn to two further cases, which are not as well-documented as the two already discussed, to verify our hypothesis.

The Xiào-Patriarch of Jìn 晉孝公; alias Xiào-Marquis 孝侯 (r. 739–724 B.C.)

Sīmǎ Qiān gives us the following account:

> 晉大臣潘父弑其君昭侯而迎曲沃桓叔. 桓叔欲入晉, 晉人發兵攻桓叔. 桓叔敗, 還歸曲沃. 晉人共立昭侯子, 平, 為君. 是為孝侯. […]
> One of the important vassals of Jìn, Father Pān, assassinated his ruler, the Zhāo-Marquis, and invited the Huán-minor of Qū-wò (to take the throne). The Huán-minor wished to enter Jìn, but leading kinsmen [of the house] of Jìn raised troops and attacked the Huán-minor. The Huán-minor was defeated, and he retreated and returned to Qū-wò. The leading kinsmen [of the house] of Jìn jointly installed the son of the Zhāo-Marquis, Píng, as their lord. This was the Xiào-Marquis (r. 739–724 B.C.).[19]

Whereas the *Shǐ Jì* states that the Huán-minor "wished" to be enthroned, a commentary by Wéi Zhāo 韋昭 on a passage in the *Guó Yǔ* 國語 basically confirms the sequence of events, but structures them differently and adds, in my opinion, decisive information:

> 晉潘父弑昭侯而納桓叔. 不克, 晉人立昭侯之子, 孝侯, 於翼. 更為翼侯.
> Father Pān of Jìn, assassinated the Zhāo-Marquis and invested the Huán-minor. As he did not overcome [all of Jìn], leading kinsmen [of the house] of Jìn installed the son of the Zhāo-Marquis, the Xiào-Marquis, in Yì. Due to this change he became the Marquis of Yì.[20]

The *Shǐ Jì* account qualifies the events as an—in the end unsuccessful—*attempt* at usurpation. The *Guó Yǔ* account conveys the idea that the attempt was *in important respects* successful. It seems that the Huán-minor managed—at least for a short time—to assume the position of ruler of Jìn, although not overcoming all resistance (this was later achieved by his grandson, the Wǔ-Patriarch of Jìn). It

18 The technical expression seems to have been *zhì xiào* 致孝, cf. *Shǐ Jì* 2. Nienhauser (2006, V.1: 22) translates this passage as follows: [禹]致孝于鬼神 "[Yü neglected his clothing and food to] make offerings for the ghosts and spirits". The translation obscures the fact that the 'ghosts' are in fact '*ancestral* ghosts' and that *zhì xiào* does not simply mean 'make offerings', but more precisely 'to show pious behaviour towards'.

19 *Shǐ Jì* 39 (cf. Nienhauser et al 2006, V.1: 301–302).

20 *Guó Yǔ* 7.01.01; commentary by Wéi Zhāo (cf. *Guó Yǔ* 國語, Shànghǎi Gǔjí, 1983: 251).

seems certain that the Huán-minor dethroned the Xiào-Marquis, whose title is no longer "ruler of Jìn" but merely Marquis of Yì. As evidenced by the reign of only three months in example 3.1, even such a short period of rulership would be sufficient to have the Huán-minor entered in the geneatactical order of the major lineage of Jìn. The order of succession in the major lineage would therefore have to be reconstructed as follows:

Illustration 6: Geneatactical order of succession in Jìn I (zhāo-mù sequence)

Táng-shú Yú	唐叔虞				(1)
	穆			昭	
…	…	…	…	…	…
Mù; s/8	穆侯	(9)	(8)	獻侯	Xiàn
Wén; s/9	文侯	(11)	(10)	殤叔	Shāng-shú; s/8
Huán-shú; s/9	桓叔	(13)	(12)	昭侯	Zhāo; s/11
…	…	…	(14)	孝侯	Xiào; s/12

Abbreviations: s: son; /: of … (e.g. s/8 = son of 8)

Note the sequence of rulers N° 9 to N° 12: The appearance of the name Zhāo (N° 12) shows that the "normal" order of succession had already been disrupted by ruler N° 10, demonstrating the pre-existing instability of rule in Jìn. The usurpation of the Jìn throne by the Huán-minor obviously copied the pattern set by an uncle of his, i.e. the Shāng-minor. But in the latter case the succeeding ruler was named Wén, and *not* Xiào. This is certainly due to the fact that the Wén-Patriarch *in person* attacked the Shāng-minor and forced him to give up the throne, whereas the Xiào-Patriarch was installed *by his kinsmen*, thus showing no intent to forcibly change his own fate.[21] The Xiào-Marquis of Jìn thus can be judged to qualify for his epithet, because he demonstrated filial piety towards his father and ancestral piety towards his geneatactical predecessor, his great-uncle.[22]

21 Both accounts, *Shǐ Jì* 39 (cf. Nienhauser et al 2006, V.1: 301) and *Guó Yǔ* confirm that he was duly invested by his kinsmen.

22 *Shǐ Jì* 39. Cf. Nienhauser et al 2006, V.1: 367: "In the nineteenth year of Duke Lieh (400 B.C.), King Wei-lieh of Chou (r. 425–402 B.C.), enfeoffed [the clans of] Chao, Hàn and Wei, and ordered all of them to be feudal lords. In the twenty-seventh year (393 B.C.), Duke Lieh expired, and his son Ch'i, Duke Hsiao (r. 392–375 B.C.) was invested. […] In the seventeenth year (375 B.C.), Duke Hsiao expired, and his son, Chü-chiu, Duke Ching (r. 377–376 B.C.), was invested. […] In the second year of Duke Ching (376 B.C.), after Marquis Wu of Wei (…), Marquis Ai of Han (…) and Marquis Ching of Chao (…) destroyed Chin, they divided its territory into three parts. Duke Ching was demoted to become a commoner. [Worship of] Chin[']s ancestors] was cut off and no one sacrificed to them." The similarity of the two cases could be seen in that fact that both rulers with the epithet Xiào were factually demoted. This loss of status would be equal to a usurpation. The story of the later Xiào-Patriarch of Jìn thus seems to parallel that of the first, but he (the later one) is also known under the name of Huán, which would change the pattern and render the argument useless.

Zhōu Xiào-wáng 周孝王 (r. c. 890–878 B.C.)

Very little is known about the biography and the reign period of the Xiào-King. E. Shaughnessy writes: "Indeed, most previous attempts to reconstruct Western Zhōu chronology, have foundered on the very problem of the transition from the reign of King Yih (i.e. 懿 R.H.G.) to that of King Xiao, who, traditional sources attest, came to power through an extraordinary succession, being King Yih's uncle rather than his son. I must admit that the period has perplexed me greatly as well."[23]

Against the background of the three cases already discussed, it is precisely this type of unusual constellation in the relationship that now strikes us as rather familiar and encourages us to propose the following explanation: Not the succession of the Xiào-King was extraordinary or irregular, but the succession of the *Yì-King* (懿)! The three rulers of principalities discussed in 3.1 to 3.3 above were clearly all *designated* successors, who—by force of circumstances (e.g. usurpation in the cases of Jìn and Lǔ) or due to a change of mind on the part of their father-predecessor (in the case of Qí)—were in effect deprived of the succession, but obviously not of their *right* to succession. Assuming or receiving the epithet Xiào clearly shows that there was no disagreement on this point. Is there any indication that the rule of the Yì-King could be termed "irregular"? The *Shǐ Jì* gives us the following hint:

> 共王崩, 子懿王僤立. 懿王之時, 王室遂衰. 詩人作刺.
> The Gōng-King expired and his son Jiàn, the Yì-King, was invested. During the times of the Yì-King, the royal house continually declined, and the poets composed critical pieces [about him].[24]

The *Bamboo Annals* supply the following, peculiar and extremely ominous record for the first year of the Yì-King:

> 元年, 丙寅, 春, 正月: 王即位. 天再旦于鄭
> First year, *bǐng-yín* [year], spring, first month: The King assumed office. Heaven let it dawn twice at Zhèng.[25]

These sparse indications, in my opinion, suggest the following conclusions: (a) The Yì-King's succession to the throne was probably not only irregular, but also accompanied by forebodings of bad rulership—and certain events, such as the inferred exile, seem to bear these suspicions out. I assume that this means that the Xiào-King had been bypassed in favour of his nephew. (b) The cases hitherto discussed seem to indicate that a ruler at that period had the power to arrange an order of succession for *more than one or even all of his sons*. It appears to me that

23 Cf. Shaughnessy 1991: 259.

24 *Shǐ Jì* 4 (cf. Nienhauser et al 2006, I: 70). Cf. Shaughnessy, p. 265 regarding the troubles of the Yì-King (criticism and presumed exile).

25 *Zhú Shū Jìnián* 2.6b (cf. *Gǔ Běn Zhú Shū Jì Nián Jízhèng* 古本竹書紀年輯證, ed. Fāng Shīmíng 方詩銘 and Wáng Xiūlíng 王修齡, Shanghai, Shanghai Guji chubanshe 1981: 248). Cf. Shaughnessy 1991: 256–257 for a discussion of this solar eclipse on April 21, 899 B.C.

the Mù-King most probably appointed his eldest son, the later Gōng-King, to be his successor, but at the same time stipulated that the younger brother, the later Xiào-King, was to follow him.[26] The Gōng-King apparently did not abide by this ruling and appointed his own son, the Yì-King, to be successor—thus not only revealing himself as basically "not *xiào*" but also acting as a fitting counterfoil for his younger brother, who could now demonstrate his ability to be or remain *xiào* towards the will of their father.[27] (c) Interestingly, the inheritance of the throne by rulers with the epithet Xiào seems to have always taken place without any great turmoil or disturbances. This could signify that such a succession had actually already been settled on—being the will of the father-predecessor—and was simply not a matter of contention. The *Shǐ Jì* therefore almost laconically reports:

> 懿王崩, 共王弟辟方立. 是為孝王.
> When the Yì-King expired, the younger brother Bì-fāng of the Gōng-King was invested. This was the Xiào-King.[28]

The geneatactical order is as follows:

Illustration 7: Geneatactical order of succession in Zhōu (zhāo-mù-sequence)

hòu Jì	后稷				(1)
	穆			昭	
	…			…	
Mù	穆王	(21)	(20)	昭王	Zhāo
Yì; s/22	懿王	(23)	(22)	共王	Gōng; s/21
Yí; s/23	夷王	(25)	(24)	孝王	Xiào; s/21

Abbreviations: s: son; /: of … (e.g. s/8 = son of 8)

Crisis and Conflict: A Controversial Case of *xiào*

The Líng-Patriarch, ruler of the Principality of Wèi (r. 534–493), contemporary and employer of Master Kǒng, exiled his son and designated successor, because he had planned to assassinate his consort, Nán from the clan of the Zǐ from Sòng. After another patriarchal son, Squire-Yǐng (公子郢), had declined to be appointed heir, the son of the banned heir and grandson of the Líng-Patriarch, Zhé (輒), was invested. As a result, Wèi got caught in the conflict between the two great powers

26 This seems all the more plausible as the personal name of the Xiào-King, Bì-fāng 辟方, could be translated as 'ruler of the regions'.

27 It would be interesting to discuss the many intimations of the decline of the Zhōu under the aspect of "filial" and "ancestral" piety. The neglect of the rules and obligations of piety does in important ways signal disorderliness. This kind of moral decline does not necessarily coincide with an actual decline in political and military power.

28 *Shǐ Jì* 4, cf. Nienhauser et al 2006 I: 70.

Jìn and Qí, the former supporting the banned father, the latter supporting the son. After several years of fighting, in the 12th year of the reign of Zhé, the father succeeded in driving him out and was invested as the Zhuāng-Patriarch. The Principality of Lǔ offered the son, now known as the Chū-Patriarch (i.e. the exiled patriarch), an abode. Three years later, the Zhuāng-Patriarch was himself forced to abdicate, and his son returned to Wèi and was eventually invested again for a second term.

This series of events resulted in a highly peculiar line of succession: the grandfather is followed by his grandson, who is followed by his father, who again follows his father.

Illustration 8: Geneatactical order of succession in Wèi (zhāo-mù-sequence)

Kāng-shú-Fēng	康叔封				(1)
	穆			昭	
…	…	…	…	…	…
Xiāng	襄公	(27)	(26)	殤公	Shāng
Chū; gs/28	出公	(29)	(28)	靈公	Líng
jūn Qǐ; s/28	君起	(31)	(30)	莊公	Zhuāng; s/28
Jìng	敬公		(32)	悼公	Dào; s/28
				昭伯	Zhāo

Abbreviations: s: son; gs: grandson; /: of … (e.g. gs/28 = grandson of 28)

The ruling house of Wèi was not only genealogically upside-down, but this constellation was also highly appropriate for deliberations of the moral and ethical type: Was the grandfather entitled to arrange for his succession in this way? Should the grandson have stepped back in favour of his father? Should the father have accepted the verdict of his father? Which of these patterns of behaviour would possibly qualify as *xiào*?

Sīmǎ Qiān mentions these events about four hundred years later in the "Hereditary House (or so-called Biography) of Confucius" and makes the following comment:

> 是時, 衛君輒父不得立, 在外. 諸侯數以為讓.
> At that time, the father of Zhé, the ruler of Wèi, could not gain the throne and lived in exile. Several of the feudal lords maintained that [Zhé] should yield the throne [to his father].[29]

29 *Shǐ Jì* 47. A (not very accurate) English translation of this chapter is to be found in *Records of the Historian*, translated by Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang, Hong Kong, The Commercial Press, 1974: 20 (the expression 輒父 'the father of Zhé' is misunderstood as '[Duke] Cheh-fu'). For a more precise, German translation of the biography, cf. Ernst Schwarz, *Konfuzius. Gespräche des Meisters Kung* (*Lun Yü*), München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, [5]1992: 159.

By using the verbal construction *yǐ wéi* 以為, Sīmǎ Qiān is indicating that there were differing opinions: Was the son obliged to obey his father and comply with his wishes, or did he have the right to base himself on his grandfather's binding arrangements and oppose his father? In other words: To whom did this son owe piety? Could behaviour of this type be termed *xiào*? Was this son really a true son? That Sīmǎ Qiān had these questions in mind becomes apparent by the sequel of the text just referred to. He introduces *Lùn Yǔ* 論語 13.3 and thus explicitly refers to the question of correct names:

> 而孔子弟子多仕於衛. 衛君欲得孔子為政. 子路曰:「衛君待子而為政. 子將奚先?」孔子曰:「必也正名乎!」
> But many of the disciples of the Squire Kǒng were serving in Wèi. The ruler of Wèi[30] wanted to obtain the Squire Kǒng as prime minister. Squire-Lù said [to the Squire Kǒng], "The ruler of Wèi expects you to exercise government in your way. What, Sir, would you grant priority to?" The Squire Kǒng said, "It is an absolute necessity to rectify names."[31]

The structure of the narrative, in my opinion, reveals that Sīmǎ Qiān is convinced that the son (i.e. Zhé) was not behaving as a true son should, and many later commentators and translators in fact agree with him. Given that Master Kǒng personally calls for precisely such conduct in *Lùn Yǔ* 12.11 ("A ruler should behave as a true ruler does, a vassal as a true vassal, a father as a true father, and a son as a true son."), it would appear that Master Kǒng's opinion regarding the "wayward" son was clear-cut and evident: In order to be regarded as a filial son, Zhé should have renounced the throne in favour of his father. Reduced to basics, a common opinion seemed to be: Filial conduct was in the first place owed to the *living* father, and only in the second place was (ancestral) piety owed to a *deceased* grandfather.

But the following passage from the *Gōng Yáng* 公羊-commentary shows, with reference to the very events we are dealing with, that there were differing and controversial opinions regarding the various obligations arising from filial and ancestral piety. It says:

> 曼姑受命乎靈公而立輒. […] 輒者曷為者也? 蒯聵之子也. 然, 則曷為不立蒯聵而立輒? 蒯聵為無道. 靈公逐蒯聵而立輒. 然, 則輒之義可以立乎? 曰: 可. 其可奈何? 不以父命辭王父命, 以王父命辭父命. 是父之行乎子也.
> Wàn-gū [of the lineage of the Shí of Wèi][32] received the command from the Líng-Patriarch and invested Zhé. […] Who was Zhé? He was the son of Kuài-kuì (i.e. the later Zhuāng-Patriarch). If that be so, why then did he not

30 The question of which ruler of Wèi was being referred to in *Lùn Yǔ* 13.3 is dealt with in detail in Gassmann 1988: 69–88. In the conclusion to this paper I offer a new angle of approach to the problem. Cf. note 46.

31 *Shǐ Jì* 47 (cf. Schwarz [5]1992: 159).

32 In *Shǐ Jì* 37 the name is given as 石曼專. Nienhauser (2006, V.1: 259) transcribes it as Shih Man-fu.

> invest Kuài-kuì rather than Zhé? Kuài-kuì had acted contrary to correct principles. The Líng-Patriarch banned Kuài-kuì und invested Zhé. If that be so, did Zhé's sense of propriety allow him to be invested? [I] say, "It did." And why should that be so? You do not acquit yourself of a grandfather's command because of a father's command, but you do acquit yourself of a father's command because of a grandfather's command. This is because a father's [command] is put into practice in a son.[33]

The last sentence of this excerpt, of course, applies not only to the son Zhé, but also—and all the more in the present case—to *his father*, the son of the Líng-Patriarch, i.e. to Kuài-kuì. It is abundantly clear that the *Gōng Yáng* is convinced that the son Zhé is behaving with perfect filial piety towards his father, Kuài-kuì, because he—in an unusual but faultless act of ancestral piety—is placing the command of his grandfather over and above the wishes of his father. Piety, here, reveals itself as a *transitive* behavioural pattern, causing the son as well as the grandson to regard the decision of the father or grandfather as absolutely binding—especially after his passing away. The formula at the end of many inscriptions on bronze vessels, in which sons and grandsons are exhorted to honour the position and the will of the donor, may be taken as a good example for this kind of transitivity.

These two opinions reflecting a presumably (late?) Warring States period opinion in the *Gōng Yáng* and a Hàn period opinion in the *Shǐ Jì* seem to indicate a development which downgrades the rôle of *ancestral* piety and puts more stress on *filial* piety, especially in the treatment of living parents. This development foreshadows the decline of the geneatactical system (i.e. the *zhāo-mù*-sequence) in the late Warring States period and its disappearance in the Hàn dynasty.[34] It also might conceivably interlock with the "Middle Springs and Autumns Ritual Restructuring" or, maybe more likely, with the reductions in ritual practice in the Warring States period that Lothar von Falkenhausen describes in his recent publication on Chinese society in the "Age of Confucius". He notes: "These developments (i.e. changes in the élite ritual privileges) may also be one indication of the decreasing social importance of the *ancestral cult* (my emphasis, RHG)."[35]

But which opinion would Master Kǒng have favoured? First of all, we should take note of the following important statement, stressing the importance of *filial piety* as the proper behaviour towards one's father:

> 子曰:「父在, 觀其志; 父沒, 觀其行. 三年無改於父之道, 可謂孝矣.」

33 *Gōng Yáng*, Āi 3.1.

34 Together with the dissolution of the ancient kinship system (e.g. in place of clan names, *xìng* 姓, we find family names, *xìng* 姓, in the Hàn dynasty ; cf. Gassmann 2006: 61–62), the difference between major and minor lineages disappeared, thus converting the geneatactical system into a more strictly genealogical one.

35 Cf. von Falkenhausen 2006: 366.

> The Squire said, "When a father is [still] alive, one [only] observes what [the mind of a son] is set upon; when a father is dead, one [then] observes what he puts into practice. If for three years he does not alter [anything] in the guiding principles of his father, he may be called a filial [son]."[36]

This statement is clear evidence that Master Kǒng supported the opinion that filial piety was an obligation owed to both living and dead parents (here: fathers). But does it mean that the Master also approved of the behaviour of the son Zhé and that he regarded it as legitimate? The answer, in my opinion, lies in the following passage, which first has to be correctly decoded:

> 冉有曰:「夫子為衛君乎.」子貢曰:「諾，吾將問之.」入曰:「伯夷叔齊何人也.」曰:「古之賢人也.」曰:「怨乎.」曰:「求仁而得仁. 又何怨?」出曰:「夫子不為也.」
>
> Yǒu from the lineage of the Rǎn said, "Is the Squire in favour of the ruler of Wèi?" Squire-Gòng said, "Yes, I should inquire about that." He entered and said, "The major-Yí and the minor-Qí—what kind of men were they?" [The Squire] said, "They were worthy men of antiquity." [Squire-Gòng] said, "Did they resent [their fate]?" [The Squire] said, "They pursued behaviour proper to (kins)men and they achieved such behaviour. Other than [a failure to do] this, what should they resent?" [Squire-Gòng] went out and said, "The Squire is one who is not in favour of him."[37]

The expression *Wèi jūn* 衛君 'ruler of Wèi' in this statement is normally taken to refer to Zhé, the son of Kuài-kuì. This interpretation is based on Sīmǎ Qiān's opinion regarding filial piety and on the assumption that the situation of Zhé is identical to that of one of the above-mentioned historical figures. The analogy is conceived as follows: bó-Yí = Kuài-kuì; shū-Qí = Zhé. But this, as I hope to convincingly demonstrate, is most probably mistaken.

According to tradition, the minor-Qí (shū-Qí 叔齊), i.e. the younger son of a ruler in the Shāng period (the lord of Gū-zhú 孤竹), was designated as successor to the throne. His elder brother, the major-Yí (bó-Yí 伯夷) was thus excluded from the line of succession, and because of this the minor-Qí relinquished his right after the death of their father. This, however, put the elder brother in a predicament, because he was prepared to act as a filial son and accept the decision of their father. Unwilling to deprive each other of the succession, *both* consequently waived their rights and went into exile.[38] It should be noted that the two were *brothers*, not father and son.

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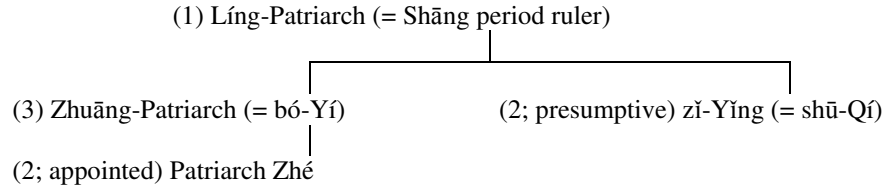
36 *Lùn Yǔ* 1.11, cf. Lau [2]1983: 4–5.

37 *Lùn Yǔ* 7.15, cf. Lau [2]1983: 58–59, including note 4 on p. 61.

38 Cf. *Shǐ Jì* 61 (伯夷列傳) and *Lǚ Shì Chūn Qiū* 12/4.2 (cf. John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000: 266 and Glossary pp. 764–765). *Shǐ Jì* 4 (cf. Nienhauser 2006, I: 57) offers an interesting parallel in the House of Zhōu: Here two sons of the old Patriarch (gǔ gōng Dǎn fū 古公亶夫), the Tài-major (Tài-bó 太伯)

The situation in Wèi can be nearly perfectly transposed onto this historical blueprint:

Illustration 9: Comparison of the order of succession in Wèi with that in Gū-zhú



The Zhuāng-Patriarch Kuài-kuì (N° 3), who was the elder son (= bó-Yí), is excluded from the line of succession by his father, the Líng-Patriarch (N° 1 = the Shāng ruler); the younger son, *Squire-Yǐng* (N° 2, heir presumptive = shū-Qí) declines the offer and suggests appointing *the son of the elder brother*, i.e. Zhé (N° 2, appointed heir). This last variation of the blueprint has two well-considered advantages: on the one hand, it offers the elder brother and father, i.e. Kuài-kuì, the possibility to act as a filial son by accepting his father's decision (however unjustified it may have been), on the other hand, it opens the line of succession to his son and heir, thus safeguarding future interests.

Kuài-kuì, however, was not willing to settle into the rôle of the filial son. He did not behave like the exemplary major-Yí, but finally drove out his son, thus giving rise to the commonly used epithet Chū, i.e. the "expelled" Patriarch (出公). This, in my opinion, leads to the conclusion that the expression *Wèi jūn* 衛君 'ruler of Wèi' in *Lùn Yǔ* 7.15 quite certainly refers to the *Zhuāng*-Patriarch (i.e. to Kuài-kuì)[39], and that the dialogue on the subject took place in Lǔ sometime during the three years' reign of this patriarch (480–478 B.C.), i.e. shortly before the Masters's death (479 B.C.). The son Zhé was in exile in Lǔ (he arrived in Ai 15), and his usurpatory father Kuài-kuì was already on the throne.[40]

It is therefore highly improbable that Master Kǒng could ever have condoned the behaviour of the Zhuāng-Patriarch. In his eyes, the expelled Patriarch Zhé was certainly the legitimate successor. This certainty is also based on the fact that one of

and the medius of Yú (Yú zhòng 虞仲) are passed over in favour of the youngest son junior-Lì (jì-Lì 季歷), who was invested in the predynastic period under the name of Patriarch-junior (gōng jì 公季). The two elder brothers also go into exile. In this passage the major-Yí and the minor-Qí from Gū-zhú are also mentioned amongst the men who followed Patriarch-junior.

39 I already argued in favour of this interpretation in Gassmann 1988: 77–79.

40 This assumption is completely compatible with the known biographical date of those taking part in the conversation at the time: Yǒu from the lineage of the Rǎn was in the service of the "ruling" Jì-lineage in Lǔ, and Squire-Gòng looked after the Squire Kǒng in the years before his death in Lǔ.

his favourite and prominent followers, Squire-Lù (zǐ-Lù 子路), served Zhé and died for him during the fighting when his father finally displaced him.

But there is a final, crowning observation which shows that Master Kǒng must have regarded the expelled Patriarch as "filial" (*xiào*) in all respects. After three years of reign, the usurpator—his father—was himself expelled and replaced by another grandson of the Líng-Patriarch, the ruler Qǐ (君起; cf. Illustration 8 above).[41] In the first year of this ruler, a minister drove him out and replaced him with the expelled Zhé.[42] Now, this constellation is already quite familiar to us: the deplaced or designated ruler patiently and filially waits for the downfall or expulsion of the usurpator and than lets himself be invested as the legitimate successor. But in all the cases discussed above, these rulers then claimed or adopted the epithet Xiào. But what about our filial ruler Zhé, who surely also qualifies for this epithet? In the *Mèngzǐ* we find the following statement regarding the type of services Master Kǒng would accept:

> 孔子有見行可之仕, 有際可之仕, 有公養之仕. 於季桓子見行可之仕也; 於衛靈公際可之仕也; 於衛孝公公養之仕也.
> The Squire Kǒng entered into a service[43], in which the conduct [of his superior] appeared acceptable, in which a connection [with his superior] was acceptable, or in which support [by his superior] was just. In the case of the Huán-Squire of the lineage of the Jì [in Lǔ] it was service of the first kind; in the case of the Líng-Patriarch of Wèi it was service of the second kind; in the case of the Xiào-Patriarch of Wèi, it was service of the last kind.[44]

This Xiào-Patriarch of Wèi was none other than the expelled son Zhé.[45] Master Mèng not only refers to this ruler with the epithet Xiào, but also relates him to Master Kǒng, thus rendering it absolutely incontestable that the Master must have regarded him as *xiào* and that accepting the succession of his grandfather and repudiating the claim of his father was not only legitimate, but also an act of ancestral piety. I am now convinced that it would be both profitable and most probably historically accurate to relate Master Kǒng's famous injunction about "keeping names correct" or "correcting names" as well as the context and the

41 Cf. *Shǐ Jì* 37, cf. Nienhauser et al 2006, V.1: 258–259).

42 In extension of the discussion here, it would be extremely interesting to follow up the question of loyalties of the many, many ministers, who were charged with the execution of a ruler's decision regarding his succession (e.g. the person mentioned in note 32 above). Loyalty of this type should possibly be understood as a pledge to support the execution of filial and/or ancestral behaviour.

43 In the expression *yǒu shì* 有…仕 the verb is to be taken as causative, i.e. 'to make/let X exist/be'. For stylistic reasons I adopt the translation 'enter into service'.

44 *Mèngzǐ* 5B.4, cf. Lau [2]1984: 210–211.

45 Cf. Lau's comment in the "Glossary of Names and Places" (1970: 268; Penguin Books edition): "There is no Duke Hsiao in Wei according to the *Tso chuan* and the *Shih chi*. He must be the same person as Che, the Ousted Duke (reigned 492–481)."

content of *Lùn Yǔ* 13.3 to the fact that this very ruler of Wèi was commonly—and obviously wrongly—referred to with the epithet Chū, whereas in the eyes of the Squire Kǒng (and Squire Mèng) he should be correctly referred to with the epithet Xiào.[46]

We can thus—especially as regards the all-important names—offer a more accurate picture of the line of succession in Wèi:

Illustration 10: Geneatactical order of succession in Wèi (zhāo-mù sequence)

Kāng-shú-Fēng	康叔封				(1)
	穆			昭	
…	…	…	…	…	…
Xiāng	襄公	(27)	(26)	殤公	Shāng
Xiào; gs/28 (= Chū 出)	孝公	(29)	(28)	靈公	Líng
Jūn Qǐ; s/28	君起	(31)	(30)	莊公	Zhuāng; s/28
Jìng	**敬公**	(33)	(32)	悼公	Dào; s/28
			(34)	昭伯	Zhāo

Abbreviations: s: son; gs: grandson; /: of … (e.g. gs/28 = grandson of 28)

Conclusion

This short excursion into the field of filial and ancestral piety has furnished a number of interesting results. These are related, on the one hand (see A below), to the rules for canonical epithets, and on the other hand (see B below) to the rules governing succession within the context of filial and ancestral piety.

(A) The alleged guidelines given for instance in the Shì fǎ chapter (謚法) of the *Yì Zhōu Shū* (逸周書) seem to be entirely—und thus incorrectly—based on the idea that canonical epithets are *retrospective qualifications*, i.e. a kind of epitome of the quality of the reign of a ruler.[47] Our findings show that this is highly improbable in the case of the epithet Xiào 孝.[48] This epithet fits more to the pattern of epithets like Zhāo 昭 and Mù 穆, which are dictated by the *geneatactical position* of the corresponding ruler—and this is unquestionably already known at the beginning of their respective reigns. If events play a role, then the alleged epithet Chū 出 would be a candidate, whereas the epithets Wén 文 and Wǔ 武 again seem to a certain extent to be programmatic for the beginning, or revitalization, of a ruling house. The

46 Cf. Gassmann 1988: 69–88. At that time I argued that this was in reference to the Líng-Patriarch of Wèi, a view which I would now, of course, revise. Cf. note 30.

47 For *xiào* we have the following four specifications: 五宗安之曰孝, 協時肇享曰孝, 秉德不回曰孝, 大慮行節曰孝. The expression 五宗 belongs clearly to the Hàn period (as far as I know, there are no pre-Hàn occurrences). Cf. the text in the *Concordance to the Yizhoushu*, Hong Kong: The Commercial Press, 1992: 28, lines 9–10.

48 In a further investigation, it could be fruitful to include the epithet *kǎo* 考, which is at times looked upon as a loan character for *xiào*. Cf. Karlgren 1964, Nr. 36, p. 11 (LC 579).

constellations in the line of succession in the cases discussed in this paper show that there is one single pattern leading to the epithet Xiào: the successor must have been duly designated and he must be invested (e.g. by a loyal minister of his true predecessor) without he himself having tried to depose the intervening usurpator and immediate predecessor by force. This seems to point clearly in the direction that assuming or receiving a canonical epithet had less to do with the actual quality of the reign and all the more with the already fixed geneatactical position, i.e. with the exigencies of ancestral piety.

The conditions for assuming or receiving the canonical epithet Xiào seem to have changed in the course of the Eastern Zhōu period, thus supporting, if not confirming, the findings in the archaeological evidence. It appears that in the context of rulership and major lineages ancestral piety enjoyed precedence over filial piety in the Western Zhōu and the Springs and Autumns periods, but that by the Warring States period filial piety was slowly but irreversibly becoming the predominant pattern of behaviour. This parallels the decline of the ancient kinship system and the emergence of the new system under the Hàn, where, as an example, the ancient meaning of *xìng* 姓 changed from 'clan (name)' to 'family (name)'.[49]

Against the background of the above discussion, the question of "correct names" or "rectifying names" can be considered in a new factual context. The results of my original study of this topic made it seem plausible that the expression *Wèi jūn* 衛君 'ruler of Wèi' in *Lùn Yǔ* 13.3 could only refer to the Líng-Patriarch.[50] It would now seem worthwhile to pursue a discarded line of argument, namely that the expression refers to the Xiào-Patriarch alias Chū-Patriarch of Wèi. And I think it would also be worthwhile analysing further canonical epithets within the framework sketched here (cf. *Lùn Yǔ* 5.15).

(B) During the Western Zhōu and the Springs and Autumns periods there seems to have been only one hard and fast rule of succession: the ruler decided upon a person as his successor (be he an eldest son or not), and if this person was duly invested in the position of heir, then any change to this was not simply improper, but a grave breach of ancestral piety (the predominance of eldest sons does not contradict this rule). The reason for this is most probably to be found in the fact that designating and investing an official successor took place in an ancestral shrine and was thus reported to the ancestors. This would confirm the supreme importance of the geneatactical order in major lineages.

Taking this rule into account, it appears difficult to term certain successions *irregular* and others regular, however unusual or bizarre the line of succession eventually turns out to be.[51] There seems to have been a certain amount of freedom for the decision of a ruler regarding his succession—and the geneatactical order and the ensuing dictates of ancestral piety usually gave such decisions the seal of factual

49 Cf. note 34.
50 Cf. note 46.
51 Shaughnessy 1991: 265.

approval. The general rule of *primogeniture* seems to have gained more solid ground only in Eastern Zhōu times, although the cases discussed in this paper show that eldest sons probably always had the feeling that they were somehow more entitled to the succession than younger ones.

In this study I have presented an interpretation of the meaning of *xiào* during the word's early history, with special attention to the implications issuing from the above-mentioned "geneatactical" system of ancestor worship. The results confirm Arthur Waley's view referred to at the beginning, which was extracted from an analysis of the usages of *xiào* in the *Shī Jīng*, thus showing the pre-eminence of ancestral piety in the early period of the word's history. The paper shows that there were three forms of *xiào* at that time, and that the competition between them and their differing ritual contexts most probably contributed to the significant changes that occurred in the kinship and ancestral system following the Zhànguó period and leading into the Hàn dynasty.